

"BROTHERHOOD WEEK" TEST'S COUNTRY'S SINCERITY

Brotherhood Week, 1959, came to a nation more deeply involved than ever sorting out the implications of its religious and political heritage as they relate to racial and other group divisions. In the South there were signs of both lapsing and stiffening resistance to integration of schools; in the North there were indications of healthy self-examination on the subject of discrimination.

Most significant development in the South was the collapse of Virginia's "passive resistance" to school integration. A few Negro students are attending hitherto all-white schools in Norfolk, Arlington, Alexandria and West Royal. In the first three communities there have been no reports of difficulties; in Front Royal 22 Negroes attended the big high school in solitary splendor as a boycott by whites proved 100 percent effective.

Neither development can be interpreted at face value. In Front Royal there are reportedly many "moderates" who may become increasingly restive at the absurdity of a thousand children attending makeshift private instruction while a modern public school stands idle. On the other hand, a general collapse of segregation is not necessarily a good thing. New "pupil placement laws," intended to slow down integration, have been upheld by the Supreme Court. In Florida, which has such a law, Gov. LeRoy Collins has warned that the state must have "some integration" to make the law stand up. The strategy would be, of course, to admit a few Negroes to a kind of integrated isolation and to exclude the others on grounds other than race. Negroes might then have to live in each case that race was the determining factor, a formidable legal task. In the North there were signs that states were becoming sensitive to the charge that if they were going to call for racial integration in the South, their own house needed to be put in order. Basically this means the ending of an exclusive system of segregation in housing.

Conscription Still An Issue

A bill extending the draft for four more years has passed the House of Representatives but has not yet been acted on by the Senate. Separate legislation will be needed to extend the "UMT" program of six months of training plus 5½ years of reserve duty which expires August 1, 1959. Neither house thus far has acted to extend that program.

For full information we, suggest the National Council Against Conscription's new study, The Cost of Conscription, endorsed by Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester and 57 other prominent Americans. It sells for 10¢.

Spreading across the country is a new network of small groups who find ways of bringing together prospective Negro buyers or renters with sellers or landlords who will not discriminate. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, congregations of two of the city's biggest churches endorsed pledges to accept as neighbors people of any race or creed. In Nyack, N. Y., home of FOR national headquarters, the local paper carried an advertisement indicating the willingness of 500 Rockland County signers to welcome good neighbors regardless of race or religion. The ad was initiated by FOR member Mrs. James Best and the Rockland Friends Meeting. A similar ad in Bloomfield, N. J., had 200 signatures, and there were reports of others elsewhere. Brotherhood showed signs of growing from a pleasant sentiment to a dynamic reality.

Fellowship

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

Dutch Pacifists Gird for Elections

Under a slogan of "Socialism without atomic bombs," the Pacifist Socialist Party of the Netherlands is preparing for its first entries in parliamentary elections this year. Founded in 1956, the party won two seats in a 1957 provincial election and went on to score further gains in elections to communal councils, winning as many as 12 percent of the seats in one region and 5 percent in another. Observers estimate that the PSP has a fair chance of winning 1-4 of the 150 seats in parliament. The PSP's immediate goals are partial disarmament and the abolition of civil defense and conscription, and drastic reduction of arms expenditures, aiming eventually to discontinue the latter completely. The party calls for allocating 10 percent of the arms budget for aid to underdeveloped countries.

IFOR Youth, CST State Policy On Vienna World Youth Meeting

The European Youth Committee of the International FOR, meeting in Amsterdam, January 1-3, decided to send a team of 30 Christian pacifists to the Communist-inspired World Youth Festival to be held in Vienna this summer. IFOR Secretary Hildegard Goss-Mayr is organizing a preparatory conference, to be held in Vienna, July 21-25. The festival dates are July 26 - August 4.

To avoid the possibility of being exploited in Communist propaganda, the team will not attend the festival as a delegation; instead, members of the team will go as observers. Plans

are being made to circulate IFOR leaflets printed in Russian and other languages to bring the pacifist message to Communist youth.

In the United States, the Council on Student Travel has set up an Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival for those who wish to go to the meeting without lending support to the Communists. Further information may be obtained from Leonard Bebchick, 324 College House Offices, Harvard Square, Cambridge 38, Mass. The Information Service has printed a brochure on its purpose and is preparing background papers and other materials that will aid American youth in articulating a genuinely democratic viewpoint in discussions with Communists at the festival.

United Church Endorses Recognition of Red China

On February 19, the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ endorsed the proposal of the Fifth World Order Study Conference held last November, urging diplomatic recognition of Communist China. "We believe," the Council declared "that world order, justice and peace would under certain conditions be better served by the inclusion of the Peoples Republic of China in the UN and its recognition by our government than by continuing the present situation. The conditions are "a settlement in Korea and international agreement protecting all the people on Taiwan (Formosa)."

Japanese Vote for Bases

In two small but significant election contests in Japan, peace candidates were defeated on issues involving military bases. On February 7, the mayor of Ogawa was recalled in a special election in which the key issue was the building of an air base. Four days later, residents of the island of Niihima voted 10-6 for a majority of village assembly candidates who favored the building of a missile testing range on the island.

THE FELLOWSHIP IN ACTION

FOR member Mrs. Robert C. Nagler has recently granted U. S. citizenship although she stated that she would refuse military service. Because she is Roman Catholic without formal church affiliation, the naturalization examiner appeared to doubt her sincerity, but the American Civil Liberties Union pointed out that formal membership in "peace church" is not a prerequisite for CO status.

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Dr. Martin Niemöller, noted FOR member and president of the German Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau, has been charged in court by the Defense Ministry for allegedly defaming the German armed forces. In a speech in Kassel, Niemöller had said that the training of Commando units of the former German army was a school for potential war criminals. The Defense Ministry's charge was based on a press report which alleged that Niemöller had said, instead, "The training of soldiers...for leading positions in the military command posts must be regarded as a higher school for professional criminals."

Niemöller has been a leader of the Evangelical Fraternities, an unofficial church group campaigning against nuclear arms for West Germany, and has spoken often in opposition to the Defense Ministry's plans for atomic weapons.

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A new group called Students for Nonviolence has been organized by pacifists in Chicago. The first meeting, held at the home of FOR members Kenneth and Ellanor Calkins on January 27, was attended by 30 people who heard an address by Karl Meyer and a panel discussion of *The Causes of World War Three* by C. Wright Mills.

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FOR National Council member Byron Johnson was one of 22 Congressmen who voted against renewal of the military conscription law last month. In debate on the floor of the House, Johnson called for "training young men as

technical missionaries with slide rules, with medical kits, to fight Communism on a positive basis...as missionaries of peace."

Another "peace Congressman," William H. Meyer of Vermont, said that the growth of militarism in the U. S. "poses a threat to most of our institutions and creates an unevaluated inner peril," and he protested the haste with which the bill was steam-rolled through Congress.

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Charles C. Walker, FOR Middle Atlantic Regional Secretary, has prepared a mimeographed list of reading matter on capital punishment. With the rise of interest in the question being sparked by such films as *I Want to Live* and the French import *We Are All Murderers*, as well as last year's "Omnibus" presentation of the issue by Joseph N. Welch on TV, many FOR members will want to improve their store of information by writing to Walker at Cheyney, Pa.

Walker recommends Arthur Koestler's *Reflections on Hanging* and Playfair & Singleton's *The Offenders* as two "basic books" on the subject. These were reviewed in *Fellowship* July 1, 1958 and may be ordered from Fellowship Publications. Also recommended are such articles as "Murder and the Penalty of Death," edited by Thorstein Sellin, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, November 1952 (166 pp.) and "Reflections on the Guillotine" by Albert Camus in the *Evergreen Review*, Fall 1957.

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Two FOR members, Victor Dye and Carroll Lemon, were instrumental in securing justice for Lloyd Grandsinger, a 25-year-old Sioux Indian who was acquitted of murder on November 25, 1958. Grandsinger had earlier been sentenced to death as a result of a confession obtained by physical and mental abuse. Lemon, a Disciples minister, served as chairman of a defense committee set up to seek a new trial,

(Continued on next page)

and Dye brought the case to the attention of the Association on American Indian Affairs, which aided in raising funds for legal expenses. A third FOR member, Caleb Foote, as a professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, was among the attorneys who worked on the case.

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FOR member Roger N. Baldwin recently called attention to the "damaging international implications" of the U. S. prosecution of Julian Schuman and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Powell under a 1917 sedition law -- "particularly after court dismissal of all other sedition prosecutions." Schuman and the Powells resided in Shanghai, China, during the Korean War and published the *China Monthly Review* there, containing articles critical of U. S. policy.

Baldwin, a founder and formerly director of the American Civil Liberties Union, termed it "the most important civil liberties case" still pending in the U. S. The trial began on January 26 in San Francisco.

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George M. Houser, director of the American Committee on Africa, appealed to the UN Trusteeship Council last month to examine the reasons why the government of Tanganyika had declared him a "prohibited immigrant." Houser, who is also a member of the FOR Executive Committee, was barred from that African trust territory in July 1957, ostensibly on the whim of colonial officials.

DATES TO REMEMBER

March 6-8. New York AFSC institute Hudson Guild Farms, Andover, N. Write: Joyce Mertz, AFSC, 237 Third Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

March 20-22. AFSC Weekend conference at Woolman Hill, Mass., on "The Politics of Pacifism." Write: AFSC, P. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

April 20-23. Church Peace Mission Conference at First Baptist Church, Evanston, Ill. Write: A. J. Muste, CPM, 113 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

April 23-25. National Council meeting of the FOR at Evanston, Ill. Write: Alfred Hassler, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

May 2. Youth March for Integrated Schools, Washington, D. C. In New York City, phone MO 6-9700, or write Bayard Rustin, Youth March for Integrated Schools, 312 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

May 5. New York FOR Annual Dinner at Christ Church (Methodist), featuring Rep. Byron Johnson. Write: A. J. Muste, NYFOR, 1133 Broadway, N. Y. 10, N.

May 8. Philadelphia FOR Annual Dinner. Speaker: Rep. Byron Johnson. Write: Philadelphia Area FOR, 200 Walnut St., Phila. 3, Pa.

August 5-12. IFOR International Conference at Schloss Trautenfels, Austria. Write: John Nevin Sayre, IFOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

The Wall of Alienation

"It is only through an acceptance of the ultimate moral responsibilities of mankind that the way to reconciliation can be found. The first requirement for healing mankind's divisions is a concession of our alienation from a just order of life and a confession of our common responsibility for it."

--Daniel Day Williams, Prof. of Christian Theology,
Union Theological Seminary,

"We have a great challenge -- to destroy the enmity, not the enemy; to break down the wall and be one. Our defense should not be defense by deterrent, but defense by repentance. It is time that we were making an impact on the mind and souls of men."

--Edwin T. Dahlberg, President,
National Council of Churches



As the Twig Is Bent

BY ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE

GREAT MANY TOYS, "comic books," and TV programs offer our children little more than dramatizations of violence, bloodshed, brutality, hatred.

Miniature war planes, death-ray guns, atomic experiments focused upon destruction, and rockets as well as the more conventional bows-and-arrows, guns, tanks, and ships constantly bid for their attention. All gadgets and kits are geared to each child of "maturity."

When "comic books" and TV programs put such contrivances into the hands of operation in the hands of adults who offered as models of comportment.

Our children are thus constantly subjected to suggestions and to rationalizations of aggression and hatred. Why is this? What are the mothers and fathers thinking who permit and even encourage this situation? Have they become so accustomed to war and war-related ideas that they take granted pint-sized military materials as "natural" environment for their boys and girls? Why do so many adults condone violence as a human trait? Is there no effective alternative? Must we all permit our children to be conditioned from early childhood to participation in physical aggression?

It has been argued by some child psychologists that to give mock-lethal toys to the child is harmless and even beneficial because it will allow them to vent their "natural" aggressiveness. Since children have no other permissible way to release their emotions, they can presumably do so only by harming imaginary foes who are substitutes for real ones.

Other reputable child-care experts believe that this kind of theorizing palms off

too much as "natural"; it is based upon a kind of determinism in which inborn characteristics are assigned the determining role. They grant only general directive significance to innate mental and other biological drives. In their view, all specificities of behavior are learned and are heavily conditioned by social environment. We are born with legs and the possibility of walking, but we have to learn how to walk with the aid of other human beings. We are born with certain mechanisms with which to develop emotions and attitudes, but love of parents or an anti-social outlook on life or an acceptance of the rightness or wrongness of the domination of others by force or by the threat of violence—all these and other emotionally conditioned attitudes are learned. They are products of family, neighborhood, school and church influences. They are social channelings and elaborations of general biological tendencies and equipment.

In view of the largely learned nature of love and hate, friendliness and brutality, how can we account for the prevalence of war toys and BB guns and hunting knives? What does it tell us about the attitudes of parents toward their offspring in this tense and anxious period in world history?

"The Ways of Men"

In our society, parents often believe that it is only realistic to have their children become accustomed at a tender age to "the ways of men." Through no responsibility of the individual parent, these "ways of men" are keyed to a world of great wars and of talk about even greater conflicts to come. This attitude, often subconscious,

is not innate to human nature, but is learned and taught.

Parents who tell their children about their own personal war experiences often realize little of the nature and consequences of the war in which they took part. The war dead are myths who do not function as parents in a social sense. The badly maimed often cannot have children and often live out their pathetic lives in hospitals isolated from the world. Few parents have the opportunity or patience to piece together a war's vast panorama—its fantastically wasteful destruction of human values and assets.

War veterans like to recall the excitement, the change from the daily grind, perhaps the freedom from parental supervision or from their spouses, and the camaraderie of gang life. Whatever harm military training or experience did become so much a part of them that to some extent it became rationalized and usually justified.

In giving their small sons and daughters violent toys and violent entertainment, mothers are perhaps a little more thoughtful and even anxious than fathers, but their doubts capitulate before the pervasive sanctioning of violence in the culture around them. They want their children to become "mature." They do not want their little boys to be sissies, but to do "manly" things. War, for them, is unquestionably a virile pursuit and thus a suitable inspiration for their sons' play. They may lustily decry the dreadful aspects of war, but they are not genuinely ambivalent in their feelings about it. It is so easy to accept and rationalize the popular definition of aggressive masculinity and of supportive femininity: human beings are "naturally" warlike. There have always been wars, and "naturally" there always will be wars. Peace is something talked about in church and much to be desired, like so much else preached in church, but it is not a part of the "real world."

Over and over, through eyes, ears, gestures and examples, through words written and said, through actions and through personalities selected for honor, such beliefs

and attitudes are repeated and reinforced constantly in our daily life. It is not only in nurseries turned into miniature ordinance depots that violence is put forward as virtuous or "natural." Every day the newspaper gives us "comic" strips and news both dealing with stabbings, slugging, shootings, and violent intrigue. The sports pages glorify prize fights, wrestling and football—forms of violence conventionalized and made socially acceptable because they are prearranged and paid for. Of the "major" sports, only baseball fails to dramatize violence, but news accounts of baseball games make up for this lack. Of the "entertainment" offered us by radio, TV, and movies, much involves cowboys fighting



cattle-rustlers, frontiersmen shooting out with Indians, hard-boiled detectives raising crime yarns, and science-fiction tales of bloody conquests on other planets. Countless magazines, paperback books, and "comic books" are filled with the antics of characters manhandling one another, plotting the destruction of society, or frantically fleeing to escape such prospects. In romantic scenes, whether in words or pictures, love is tense, a hard-driving force, measured in strength by the rib-cracking fierceness with which man and woman embrace one another, by the intensity of their jealousy or by the lustiness of their sexual relations.

Heroes With Brass Knuckles

In public life, we make much of our military leaders. We talk constantly of our huge armaments program. We apotheosize our noisiest and brashest Congressmen. We give a lot of attention to gangsters and little attention to what and who make gangsterism possible. We celebrate the affairs of our most-married theater people, our worst-mannered and most temperamental opera singers, and the writers of so-called "realistic" fiction. The books of Mickey Spillane, for example, are leading best sellers and leading literary export for translation into foreign languages—in terms of volume. Repeatedly we are asked to give our admira-

to people, events and things that favorably portray tension, violence and destruction.

At the same time, we hear from the same people a feeble litany concerning the virtues of mankind, of universal brotherhood and of peaceful living in one world. Let anyone make a dramatic appeal for immediate stopgap help to disaster victims, and he will be swamped with cash offerings, but carefully planned long-range social action has little interest. We pursue the extreme. We indulge ourselves in sentimentality of the irrational sort. We give money we do not need or miss to things we do not understand. We get a great kick out of our temporary identification with an apparent problem of a grave sort, but the identification leaves us no more in touch with our real responsibilities than before.

The Anonymous World of the City

A great many Americans now live in or very near our large urban centers, and these centers help propagate a type of social anonymity and isolation which separates us more and more from our social responsibilities. Such great numbers of persons in close proximity make impossible an intimate knowledge of more than a tiny sector of the community. Thus, as our world has become more vast and complicated in an overall sense, our personal worlds have usually become tinier and tinier.

This urban anonymity turns our daily lives into a series of unrelated contacts. It makes our relationships with others one-sided affairs. A man nods to his neighbors. He speaks of his teeth with his dentist, of his liver with his physician, and of his will with his lawyer. His background and personality as a whole are somewhat tied together only by his wife and one or two old friends. But in our increasingly divided and anonymous society, often even wives and husbands do not have an accurate impression of their spouse as a whole person!

Only a clear recognition of the fragmented nature of our life patterns today can show us the significance of the lack of concern one person so often has for another except for reasons of financial profit. Shallowness in relationships is not only the

modus vivendi of urban dwellers, but it is also rationalized socially as a device which protects one from exploitation, dependency, and the invasion of privacy.

Five Types of Adaptation

Dissatisfied with the poverty of available human relationships, many people seek alternative satisfactions by means of which they adapt themselves to the anonymity of urban living. Here are five types which I have observed. At least one of them offers the promise to serve as a constructive citizen.

1. Withdrawal—a kind of enervating recognition of futility. This kind of schizoidism pervades the next several types I mention. In its worst sense, it results in a vegetative kind of existence which we have all observed.

2. Sensational, short-lived satisfactions of no social consequence—cards, drinking, much TV-watching and movie-going, use of “time killers.”

3. Limited participation, most of which is “busy work.” This includes Sunday painting, home craftsmanship, amateur theatricals, small orchestras and singing groups, adult education classes. While sometimes these are truly recreational activities, they often become ends in themselves and forms of self-delusion, of being more than mere token activity. In rare instances, of course, they can become important contributions to social expression and even to social amelioration and reform.

4. Active participation of the traditional sort in civic, governmental or church affairs. Regardless of good intent, without a long-range perspective or an acute awareness of one's role in such community organizations, one becomes merely a sustainer and not an influence in it; one thus merely does what any number of other people might do as well or as badly.

5. Creative participation in community organizations. In our civic organizations and governmental bodies, and on our church boards we need replacements for the hacks, the bureaucrats, the complacent neurotics, the well-meaning incompetents who so often achieve positions of influence simply because they happen to be available or colorless or willing or generous. We need

more men and women who love their fellow man so much that they are willing to attend a board meeting the first Wednesday in every month at 8 P.M., rain or shine, to be willing to say what they honestly think, to do the hard work of study and personal contact necessary as a continuing background for such a role, and thus to put into effect the principles that guide them and that might well benefit society.

The Way to Sanity

How can parents develop their children into persons who will enthusiastically seek and follow that fifth type of adaptation to urban anonymity, that really substantial alternative to our contemporary pressures toward personal and social shallowness?

I think of two fine young men, brothers, who grew up to be conscientious objectors to military service. As children they played with boats and airplanes, but these boys made their ships and planes as exercises in model-making, and they did not make warships and war-planes. They had fun learning how to create things with tools, what makes a boat float and balance, and how to weigh a plane so that it flies evenly. War was not part of any of their play.

From their playmates these boys inevitably learned to cock their thumbs, point their forefingers, and cry, "Bang! Bang!" But their pacifist parents repeatedly explained that that was not truly a very amusing game and that there were others much more amusing. Life is full of too many hazards as it is without the pretense of ending it for someone. Building and creating are far more rewarding.

These youngsters came to know fields and woods and streams and to enjoy them endlessly for their rich variety of life and color and changing scene. If they went fishing, they were taught that fish are to be caught only if they are to be eaten. They learned early that hunting was another form of unnecessary destruction, since there was no need for them to survive by eating

what they might shoot. Again they saw a came to love wild animals and to understand the services such animals alive perform for mankind. They were taught over and over again to consider religious principles and ethical standards objectively and then, having decided what they truly believed, to hold to it firmly. They were constantly reminded that religious principles to be worth anything, are a part of life, not ornaments in a compartment somewhere apart.

In the light of all they had been taught through simple opportunities to observe experiment and think for themselves, when only what guidance was of suggestive value, conscientious objection came to them naturally. They believe that in this way they are making a far greater contribution



through standing to be counted on the side of non-combatant efforts toward peace than they could possibly have made to peaceful societies through shouldering guns. They know from the resistance they have had to meet

face and overcome, that the way of the conscientious objector is a more virile one than the herdlike acceptance of participation in the armed forces. They know they are not alone in their views, even though it sometimes seems so, but their hope is that their efforts may encourage others who would like to think as they do but have taken the easier course of yielding to social pressures.

There are many other areas besides military service in which we can refuse to conform to traditional models and try to work for better organizations and better lives in our society. There must be a great many parents who want to make earnest efforts toward raising their children so that they will have the courage of their convictions. The health of any society is measured more by the number of creative exemplars and leaders it produces than by any other criterion. In spite of all the folklore to the contrary about what is "natural," parents can do a great deal toward raising such useful citizens for our machine age instead of mere more colorless cogs for the machines.



"Thy Gentleness Hath Made Me Great"

BY JOHN R. YUNGBLUT

SOME YEARS AGO a verse from the twenty-second chapter of the Second Book of Samuel arrested my mind: "Thy gentleness hath made me great." It struck me then as containing a profound and penetrating insight and as having about it a rare and radiant beauty; yet it seemed to me that its meaning escaped my understanding. It had depths beyond depths. There was about it a mystery that beckoned but would not once yield its treasure.

Nor have I even now plumbed its depths. It is like a limpid pool in which it is possible to see every object at the bottom. But let someone put down his hand into the pool to reach for some object, and immediately the transparency is gone. The surface is riled and rippled. One can no longer see clearly. It is dangerous to lay one's hand upon a great text; in the effort to expound it, the deeper meaning may be lost. Yet that text, having once stimulated my mind and fired my imagination, has never let me go. Like Wordsworth's "golden daffodils," it has often flashed across my inward mind, and has more than once brought bliss to my own solitude.

This text can provide guidance through the maze of life. The coastline of Cape Cod is broken by many little bays and coves, and tiny peninsulas. The pattern of water and land looks different from day to day because the bottom is always changing as a result of the sand deposited by fluctuating tides and currents. But at certain points along the shore there are lighthouses, and these do not change.

Now the shape of human life is not like the Cape Cod coast. The immediate situation and surroundings of our little boat are always changing. But if we have eyes to see there are some things that can serve as lighthouses. This text has been for me a kind of lighthouse. I have looked at

it from many different points of view during these past few years. Its light has never failed to cheer me and to give me a renewed sense of direction.

Consider first of all that it is David who makes this confession to God: "Thy gentleness hath made me great." Now David was a man of war. Actually this text is part of a hymn of praise to God following a military victory. The same passage appears later in the Bible as the 18th Psalm. The hymn begins with an ascription of praise to God: "The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer." It moves forward into an almost bloodthirsty cry of victory over the enemy. "The Lord thundered from Heaven, and the Most High uttered his voice, and he sent out arrows. . . . I have run through a troop; by my God I have leaped over a wall. . . . As for God, he is a buckler to all who trust in him. . . . He teacheth my hands to war so that a bow of steel is broken by my arms. . . . I have pursued my enemies and destroyed them, and turned in again until I have consumed them. . . . For thou hast girded me with strength to battle. Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies that I might destroy them that hate me."

Yet there it is; in the midst of this exultation in military victory comes the phrase: "Thy gentleness hath made me great." Now what did David mean by these words? It is true that a modern translator, Moffatt, gives us this version. "Thine answer to prayer hath raised me." But surely this attempt to make more specific the meaning or to make it accord better with the context is in danger of so riling the water that we cannot see into the depths of its meaning. The King James version, like the original Hebrew, says much more than this. David is pointing to a profound mystery but he himself only partially understands

it. When he says, "Thy gentleness hath made me great," he does not see that the implications of his insight, carried into all the areas of his life, would make exaltation in military victory impossible for him.

The story of the Old Testament is the story of a growing intimacy between the individual and God. At the beginning the individual dare not address himself to God nor approach Him. "The Lord said to Moses, 'Go down, charge the people, lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze and many of them perish.'" This was a very long way from the psalmist who could one day say, "It is good for me to draw near to my God." The God who was the speaker in the first five books of the Bible became the listener in the psalms. "Bow down thine ear, O Lord, for I am poor and needy; yet thou hearest me."

Lord of Hosts and Loving Father

Stanley Lee, the author of *The Shadow Christ*, has given to us a penetrating insight: "There was a cross because God had listened to David's prayer. What Moses stated David sang. . . . David was the discoverer of the law's heart. He sang his experience of the will: 'Thy gentleness hath made me great.' . . . He who had appealed to men because he was a pillar of fire appealed to David because he was in *himself*. . . . It was the first radiant, humble 'God and I.'"

David was convinced that it was the Lord of Hosts who had made it possible for him to win his military victory. But with a wisdom he scarcely understood, he intuitively realized that his only valid claim to greatness was his own sense of nearness to God. It was his experience of God's gentleness to him as an individual that had made him great.

Indeed, from our perspective we now measure David's greatness by his own acts of gentleness. The way in which David killed the Giant Goliath with his slingshot captures the imagination of boys. But what makes David really attractive to the mature person is not his military prowess so much as his capacity for gentleness in human relationships. The greatness of David is to be found in his devotion to Jonathan; his own gentleness to Jonathan made that friend great. The greatness of David lay

in his gentleness to Saul in his madness and his magnanimity when he might have destroyed him. And when tidings of a certain military victory were brought to him he had ears only for the word about his own son. He continued to press the courier oblivious to the news of victory. And when the answer came, "thy son is as the enemy" David turned his face away and wept bitterly. "Oh Absalom, my son, my son, Absalom." In the end it was David's gentleness that had made him great. And this was the reflection in his own life of the gentleness he had experienced at the hands of God.

From Moses to Jesus it was the gentleness of God that made men great. It was said of Moses that he was of all men the most meek. He had received from God the tablets of stone. But the psalmist drew closer. "I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." The prophets grew in stature when they conceived God as ever more gentle, until one day Jesus could speak of Him as "Father in Heaven." Not even a sparrow could fall to the ground without God's knowledge and concern.

Now observe that whenever we find real greatness in human personality we may look for its source in the gentleness experienced by this person at the hands of others. It is the gentleness of parents that brings forth the best in their children. Gentleness is not softness nor leniency. It requires firmness, but a firmness motivated by kindness and love. The Prayer Book translation of this passage renders the phrase: "Thy loving correction has made me great." Psychiatrists stress the importance of security in the home for all children; the basic need is to feel that one is loved. It is the gentleness of parents combined with firmness which gives their children the capacity to become strong and mature individuals.

The formula holds within the bond of marriage. It is primarily the gentleness of husband or wife in terms of patience and forbearance and kindly interest that makes the other a better person. Who would not confess to his partner: "Thy gentleness hath made me great"? The same love is at work in relationships between employer and employee. An attitude of gentleness in honest concern for the inter-

the other makes possible the trust in which alone the two can work in harmony. In all life's relationships, greatness is produced by the practice of gentleness. Particularly is this true in the experience of the Christian. It is the gentleness of his Lord which makes him feel the greatness of his own sonship. How often those accused of sin must have confessed in their hearts that it was the gentleness of Jesus which renewed their self-respect and gave them courage. When the woman who was caught in the very act of adultery was brought before the Master he told the accusers that the one without sin among them was to cast the first stone. As they quietly departed the Master said, "Does no

one accuse thee?" And when the woman responded, "No one, Lord," Jesus replied, "Nor do I condemn thee. Go and sin no more." It was this same gentleness in forgiveness that made Mary Magdalene great. And it so subdued one of "the sons of thunder" that Jesus entrusted to this man his own mother. The unspoken praise of every chapter in the gospel according to St. John is this: "Thy gentleness hath made me great."

The central fact of our faith is that the gentleness of God can reach us in Jesus Christ. When we are subdued by and made obedient to this gentleness, then our lives can begin to take on the promise of greatness.

THE STRONG USE LOVE

*It is not enough to show sad eyes
That does not unbreak one broken man
That does not put back breath in the lung*

*It is not enough to make fine words
What are they to dead who cannot hear
What are they to time not used for love*

*How could Grant or Lee
Standing in the heap
Of shattered bodies
Give more death orders*

*Who is man to call
For others to die
When no man should say
Another's dying*

*Why this reverence for Generals
Announce them to be blind of the blind
The inhumans they—not protectors
Protection is found only in love*

*Nothing is equal to one life spared
Any way is best which is not war
For only the sick will slay their kind*

*Let us say this thing outright
Let us hide the truth no longer
That only the weak use violence
That the strong use love*

—CARL SEABURG

Gandhi and Christ in Montgomery

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM by Martin Luther King Jr. Harper 1958. 244 pp. \$2.95.

To read this book is to understand that Christianity still has its purposes. It need not remain an isolated area of experience—or, more simply, Sunday's social adventure. Christianity can become, in the hands of authentic Christians, a unifying and cohesive force for social reform, an instrument for justice and spiritual inspiration.

Stride Toward Freedom discovers this truth where all the other self-help books by Norman Vincent Peale or Bishop Sheen or Joshua Loth Liebman fail.

Dr. King has not written rhetoric, but a topical history, a detailed account of the Montgomery Bus Strike. This protest by the colored community of this large Southern city began as a boycott and ended with a ruling by the United States Supreme Court that bus segregation was unconstitutional.

Two sources, writes Dr. King, inspired this movement: "Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the method."

There is a desperate, almost tragic significance in the implications that echo from this statement. For Dr. King, who is a learned and more than literate man, does not accuse Western philosophy, but it is still quite obvious that Western philosophy stands accused. It failed. Rauschenbusch, Mill, Marx, Nietzsche, Niebuhr—the philosophers Dr. King studied in his Divinity School—offered no solutions and no comforts to the man who lives in an area where white-hooded figures occasionally burn crosses on front lawns and where police officers are intransigent when a Negro asks for justice. The immediate tendency for the professional philosopher is the answer, "Well, there are no solutions to the base instincts of men."

But Dr. King and his community found a solution. The New Testament figure of Christ, minus His semantic and metaphysical embellishments, and the figure of the brown Eastern saint, Gandhi, helped the Montgomery Negroes evolve a practical

(pragmatic, if you will) philosophy. The philosophy is that of nonviolent resistance.

Nonviolent resistance, explains Dr. King, has four salient characteristics: 1) while it is not physically aggressive, neither is it passive—it *does* resist; 2) its aim is not to defeat or humiliate an opponent, but to gain friendship and understanding; 3) it is directed against the forces of evil rather than the individuals who do evil; 4) it demands a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation.

Enthusiastic attention to Dr. King's book will reveal other factors immanent in the protest and in the success of the protest. Nonviolent resistance supplied aims and practice, but combined with this was the bureaucratic nature of the protest (nor do I use "bureaucratic" pejoratively).

None of us are strangers to the bureaucratic process. All of us know what a committee is. With the exception of the Fabian Society in England, perhaps no other movement has ever had so responsible and so dedicated a committee structure as the Montgomery Improvement Association. A successful bus strike does not just happen, nor does it happily just resolve into victory.

The decision to strike was one made by an entire community. A committee of ministers organized the mass meeting at which this decision was voiced. The Montgomery Improvement Association which thereafter conducted the boycott and of which Dr. King was president was composed of a Negotiation Committee which presented the Negroes' demands to the Montgomery city officials; a Finance Committee; a Transportation Committee which arranged taxi service to and from strategic dispatch and pickup points; a Program Committee and an Executive Board which eventually saw the suit through the Courts.

In short, the bus strike was a distinctly democratic involvement for the Montgomery population, and its victory was a democratic victory.

We know how earnestly the Southern Negro will fight for at least legal acknowledgement of his rights and dignities, and we are led to ask: how important, how fortified, is white intransigence to this demand?

Very important, of course, to the elected officials, who perhaps care little one way

the other, but who have found a good political horse to ride in "white supremacy." And very important, too, to the amateurs, the professional bigots and hatemongers. But intransigence among whites is not supreme. By indirection, *de Toward Freedom* makes this clear. While Negro women were prepared to walk many miles to work, most of the white men in Montgomery would not be without their maids and taxed their colored domestics to and from work. Perhaps this attitude of Southern white matrons was responsible for doing away with bus segregation—indeed it was not—but it certainly did the defense of segregation no good.

—RICHARD GOLDHURST



Satyagraha and Sociology

QUEST OF VIOLENCE: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict by Joan V. Bondurant. Princeton University Press, 1958. 269 p., \$5.

The author of this book points out that the rapidly developing demand for a practical solution to the problem of conflict hitherto been neglected by social and political theory. She shows how the various schools of social and political theory have put their chief emphasis on goals or ends, and have paid little attention to the means used for attaining the desired ends, or have confined their discussion of means to matters of social or political structure, mechanisms, institutions or devices. They have regarded the intimate relation between means and ends. As a result, she says, some of them—conservatism, authoritarian Hegelian or fascist) idealism, Marxian theory, and liberal democracy—have relied on violent force as the ultimate sanction for the maintenance of their foundations. Behind the results in the present world! Even anarchism has failed to provide a practical method of revolution for bringing a better world.

Let me quote her: "Nowhere is the problem of means and ends more serious than in the consideration of the conduct of conflict. Political thought has, on the whole, ignored the central problems of means—the development of a technique of action which, in the hands of individual members

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—*RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

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—NORMAN THOMAS

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==HARPER & BROTHERS, N. Y. 16==

of a society, can be used for the constructive resolution of conflict. Where political theory has attended the problem, it has been satisfied to rely ultimately on the admittedly unsatisfactory means of violent force; or, as in the case of Marxist thought, it has attempted to bridge the gap by introducing a determinist philosophy. . . . For Marxist thought—as for Fascist—violence has sufficed for a means in the hands of individuals. For the Liberal Democratic political thinker, on the other hand, as for certain other political theorists, violence has not been enough—but his efforts have been only to mitigate, and not to supplant, violent force. . . . The dynamics of a creative technique which takes not its end to be preservation of a static way-of-life, or triumph of a stable system, but which proceeds as a means which assumes the proportion of an end in itself, a means which is at once constructive and creative and which embraces changing ends: this is the need which Liberal Democratic theory has yet to fulfill.”

In comparison with all these, Gandhi evolved a method for sustaining society and for social advance which, being nonviolent, did not drag into the end attained the poisons of long enduring hatred, bitterness, frustration, feelings of inferiority and superiority, desire for revenge, guilt, and seeds of further and more complex conflicts.

The four years which the author spent in India studying Gandhi's method of *satyagraha* have borne good fruit in this book. In it she explains the three elements of the method—Truth, nonviolence and self-suffering—and their interrelations. She gives a careful analysis of five of Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaigns. She describes the essentials of *satyagraha* in action, its fundamental rules, its code of discipline and the necessary steps in such a campaign. She makes an interesting comparison between persuasion and compromise. The foregoing are, for me, the highlights of the book. I felt it to be sometimes a little beclouded with the phraseology of academic sociology, but that remark may reveal only my own ignorance. It is a good book, interesting, and important for pacifists and students of social and political theory.

—RICHARD B. GREGG

LOVE AND JUSTICE by Reinhold Niebuhr (ed. D. B. Robertson). Westminster, 1936. 309 pp., \$6.

“The strategy of love . . . involves serious risks. These risks are not as great as they are sometimes made to appear, for the simple reason that love does not only cover but it creates moral purpose. Hence the contest between the apostles of force and the apostles of love can never be decided purely on the basis of scientific evidence.”

“Armed international conflict stands as a category of its own because history has proved its worthlessness as a method of solving social problems so vividly that it has become practically impossible to justify it on any moral grounds. . . . If there is any possibility of force being redemptive, it is an absolute prerequisite that it be exerted by an agency that is impartial and unbiased with reference to the controversy.”

“It is obviously possible to resist injustice without using physical force and certainly without using violence.”

These emphatic statements, which so well express the pacifist approach to justice, were written thirty years ago by an eminent FOR member named Reinhold Niebuhr. They appear on pp. 248-253 of *Love and Justice: a Selection from the Shorter Writings of Reinhold Niebuhr*, and are reprinted from the May 1928 issue of FELLOWSHIP's predecessor, *The World Tomorrow*, as the second of several articles in the book on “the pacifist issue.”

Over a span of about fifty pages, one may witness with sadness the corrosion of a sensitive man's faith in the power of love. In 1935, Niebuhr wrote an article in *The Christian Century* titled “I Leave the FOR,” which appears here. Contrary to what is widely believed, Niebuhr at that time emphatically reiterated his refusal to countenance war. It was the plight of the unemployed and underpaid industrial workers during the Great Depression which impelled Niebuhr to quit the FOR, since he came to believe that nonviolence was hopeless in the class struggle. It was only as World War II approached that what he had “proved its worthlessness” began to seem necessary, and the erstwhile pacifist

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—Martin R. Haase, FOR member since 1952.

Memo

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS

FROM: BILL MILLER

Backlog. So many good new books and pamphlets have come into our stockroom recently that others worth noting (and worth buying) have not been noted (or bought). So, instead of mentioning that we have laid in a formidable supply of C. Wright Mills' new book, *The Causes of World War Three* (Simon & Schuster, \$3.50 clothbound; \$1.50 paperback) and Michael Scott's *A Time to Speak* (Doubleday \$4.50), here are some publications you may not have heard about.

For instance, a *Cornell Law Quarterly* reprint, *Disarmament and Atomic Control: Legal and Non-Legal Problems* by Harrop A. Freeman and Stanley Yaker. The footnotes alone are an education in themselves—but there's plenty of information in the text of this 26-page pamphlet. Risk a quarter for a single copy; chances are that you'll be back for more.

Reminder. Many people have been taking advantage of our "mutual aid" book-buying service. Here's how it works. You want to buy a book—any book. Instead of scouting around for a bookshop, you send us the title, author and publisher, plus a check or money order for the list price. We send you the book postpaid. You don't save any money, but the mark-up between discount and list price goes into the budget of the Fellowship. For example, if you bought C. Wright Mills' book from us in the clothbound edition, the FOR would net about a dollar after postage and handling are deducted.

I'll be waiting for your order. Meanwhile, peace be with you!

**FELLOWSHIP
PUBLICATIONS**
Nyack, New York



began to excoriate his former associates "soft utopians" and brusquely dismissed pacifism as irrelevant. In a dozen years as reflected in the first few chapters of this section—the years spanning from before the Big Crash to Hitler's invasion of Poland—the cumulative impact of ever dislodged the New Testament love ethic from its primary place in Niebuhr's thought and made the Old Testament God of retribution normative, while the former was "kicked upstairs" to an honorific status.

Perhaps the most interesting essay in the book is a "Critique of Pacifism" which Niebuhr wrote as a pacifist in 1927. If he had taken this essay as seriously as other pacifists have since taken it, he might today be an outstanding exponent of pacifism instead of Christendom's leading apologist for the policies of deterrence and brinkmanship. In any event, pacifists will profit by reading this book. —W.R.

The "Yellowback" Frenzy

OPPOSENTS OF WAR, 1917-18 by H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite. University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. 400 pp., \$6.

This vivid journalistic story of the passions of World War I recalls freshly after forty years the most savage attack on dissenters in all our history. Nothing approaching the persecution of pacifist radicals and non-conformists of those hysterical days has occurred since, however disturbing have been the extremes of the McCarthy era. World War II saw no temper even remotely like it.

Others have researched the records of those hectic months when the nation mobilized to make the world safe for democracy and lost it at home. But none have come up with a book as solidly based on contemporary press reports of all aspects of resistance to the war and the ferocious measures to suppress it. Professor H. C. Peterson labored long over the sources, but died before he completed the job suitable for publication. Gilbert Fite finished it.

As a compilation of the evidence it is a meticulous performance, lively enough and documented enough both for the ordinary

er and the student. Its unhappy thesis
ne ease with which our country aban-
ed its principles under the passions for
ormity to presumed security. Most of
"best people," from President Wilson
udges, clergymen and university presi-
ts went wrong. If any went right, it
those few who held out stoutly for
ocratic liberties for everybody rather
n the harrassed minorities asserting
r own. The country recovered, but, as
authors say, with lasting damages in
and practice. —ROGER N. BALDWIN



Inspection By the People

SECTION FOR DISARMAMENT. Seymour
man, ed. Columbia Univ. Press, 1958.
pp., \$6.

novel proposal for inspection as a part
ny disarmament agreement is advanced
his book. Although weighted with tech-
l evidence, it will appeal to everyone
ring an international community and
ce based on public opinion.

he 20,000 to 30,000 parts used in large
iles require the participation of many
ands of people. "Because of the num-
of people required, defection by even
man from a clandestine effort would
al its existence. . . ." Therefore "in-
tion by the people" is proposed as a
plement to the international inspecto-
"The operation of effective worldwide
ection by the people would be facili-
l if the disarmament agreements in-
ed provisions which made it a duty of
citizens of participating countries to
rt violations to the international in-
torate."

uch a plan would also require direct
o, television and press communication
to the international inspecting organiza-
to the people, guaranteed by the same
y approving inspection. "Education
g such lines, carried out on a worldwide
could very well have the effect of
ing untenable the position of any gov-
ment or group of officials, found guil-
f violating the disarmament agree-
[.]"

he monitoring of "public political dis-
on and opinion" is also proposed.
the final line of defense against eva-

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sion will be a condition of society in which
such acts are widely regarded as unnatural
and unthinkable."

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In this book nineteen distinguished scientists have joined in presenting the results of their study of the problem of inspection for disarmament. This investigation was initiated by the Institute for International Order and the Institute of War and Peace Studies of Columbia University.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.



Happily Mistitled

FOR BRETHREN ONLY by Kermit Eby. Brethren Press, Elgin, Ill., 1958. 234 pp., \$3.

One clear fact about Kermit Eby's compilation of memories of the community and church in which he grew up, and reflections on their meaning, is that the book is mistitled. It is certainly *not* "for Brethren only," unless that word applies to that larger, world-wide brotherhood to which Kermit Eby has devoted so much of his life.

Kermit Eby was born and brought up near Wakarusa, Indiana, in a Brethren community. He is an ordained minister of that church, but he is best known for his work with labor, as director of education for the CIO, and as professor in the department of social sciences at the University of Chicago, his present post. He is a pacifist and member of the FOR.

For Brethren Only is a collection of 22 fairly short essays that have something of the flavor of Clarence Day's *Life with Father*. Some of them are straight atmosphere—the recalling of what life was like in a simple, rural, deeply pious community; others are reflective and philosophical, trying to relate that simpler background to the enormously complex life of the present. One of the most moving—and meaningful—is "African Love Feast: The Church Invisible," which among other things will put the practice of foot-washing in a different light for readers to whom this seems a primitive, somewhat comic aberration.

—A.H.

PAN-AFRICANISM ENTERS A NEW ER

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

tralist forces in the world in the year ahead.

These are the crucial years in Africa. The revolutionary leaders of today are the governmental leaders of tomorrow, though Communism is not at present a force on the continent, it could become one. A delegation of seven from the Soviet Union representing the Russian Afro-Asian Solidarity Council provided an indication of the keen interest of the USSR in African affairs. Following the conference, undoubtedly at the behest of this Russian delegation, a special Commission was created in Russia whose purpose is to "support in every possible way the national liberation struggles" of the African people. The Soviet consistently opposes the colonial powers and supports the African peoples in crucial votes in the United Nations. The United States, on the other hand, is open to grave criticism on this score. Its approach of the United States authority to the Accra Conference was illustrative of a certain lack of perception about the vitality of the nationalist movements in Africa. For instance, there were no greetings from an official government spokesman at the Conference opened. Greetings from Khrushchev and Chou En-lai were cheered. Dr. Nkrumah was keenly disturbed that nothing had come from Washington. Late in the conference a message came from Vice-President Nixon, but only as a result of pressure from Americans at the conference. An unsigned statement from an official spokesman of the United States government had been handed to Dr. Nkrumah, but this was a lukewarm statement quite out of keeping with the spirit of the conference. It is fortunate that mention of it was made at the conference for it would have hurt U.S. prestige further.

Unless there is a radical change in U.S. policy on African affairs very soon, American prestige in Africa will decline rapidly. There are some hopeful signs of change in U.S. policy, but will it be "a little and too late"? Perhaps the most hopeful sign for the future is that Africa, it becomes an independent continent, will also reflect a virile neutralism which should help to ease international tensions.

LETTERS

is Fellowship's policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with Fellowship's viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

From a CO in Prison

Editors:
Greetings of love and peace to you.
You probably know, I am imprisoned on account of my belief that I cannot with a free conscience participate in anything pertaining to war.

During this Christmas season I was surprised, and pleased, to receive about 500 cards, a message of good will and encouragement. I believe it was through FELLOWSHIP that all these people learned of my whereabouts and need of encouragement.

The cards are from different religious groups practically from all over the world. Most of the cards were mailed in the U.S.A., and from countries in the following order: England, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Japan, Australia, Australia, Italy, France, Poland, Russia, Puerto Rico and South Africa.

It is impossible for me to write to all the people while imprisoned, I will give my thanks to you, and ask that you will, if possible, extend it to your members.

You will be pleased to know that not only I, but also my companions enjoyed the cards, they were hung up for Christmas decorations.

Keep up the work of peace and love, the world needs it.

DANIEL STAUFFER
Danbury, Conn.

Milk-and-Water Pacifism

Editors:
Harry Scott's attempt in his recent "Non-Violence and the Social Order" ("Potpourri," in FELLOWSHIP) to curry favor with those who accept the system by trying to be a pacifist without being an anarchist is in line with the practice of seeking to coordinate pacifists and oppose the system into weakening their resistance. This is done by sentimental religious preach of vigil and prayer. He is very careful not to coerce or put pressure upon his conservative neighbor but he spends most of his time trying to weaken brave pacifists who think of going to prison or remaining in prison to weaken and do nothing but pray. When Vincent Peale can do this much better than Larry, so his is really a lost cause.

I agree with him in that in general going to law, insulting the officials, going to law for rights, and seeking to embarrass those with whom we disagree is not the true pacifism. When I fasted 40 days in Washington and picketed the AEC the first sentence in my statement was that I did not seek to coerce or

embarrass the officials. For that very reason I did not take part in the sitdown at the AEC.

I have respect for the atheist or non-church pacifist like Jim Peck and Dave Dellinger who use more aggressive picketing measures and whose praying is at a minimum. I have respect also for my neighbor radical or pacifist who is not an anarchist and who votes for the "good man" and who believes in the UN and world government. I even have respect for the great majority who believe in the patriotic status quo. But the ones I have the least respect for are those like Larry who shout 'supreme pacifism' so loudly and are so impractical as to think that they can educate the great masses by a milk and water pacifism which they try to sneak in under the name of democracy and religion.

The absolutist pacifist must renounce the violence of the courts and prisons as well as the violence of war. Not to do so is to go only half way. For halfway folks this is to be expected, but for those who claim to be super-pacifists it is indeed a wish wash which does not deserve the attention of serious-minded people, whether radical or conservative.

AMMON HENNACY
New York, N. Y.

Anti-Atom Currents in Sweden

Dear Editors:

Last summer I visited the Swedish Institute in Stockholm with a group of journalists and journalism students.

One of the Swedish journalists at the reception was a student, Berit Radegran. During the summer she was working for *Stockholm's Tidningen*, a union paper.

It was through Miss Radegran that I found out more about the "Group Against Swedish Atomic Bombs." Sweden had been giving serious consideration to nuclear armaments. This caused Per Anders Fogelstrom, a reporter with the newspaper *Folket i Bild* and Roland Morell, an officer and president of the unions of the Swedish students, to get together and write a book against Swedish atomic armament.

As Mr. Fogelstrom explained it to me when I called on him, "We are for positive moral action. Instead of appropriating money for nuclear weapons we propose the same money be given to help an underdeveloped country."

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP at least one month in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to: Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of FELLOWSHIP will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)

Other important people supporting the "Group Against Swedish Atomic Bombs," include, I was told, the Archbishop; Barbro Hlving, one of Sweden's leading women journalists; she works for *Dagens Nyheter*, one of Stockholm's most important newspapers whose editorial position on the question of atomic weapons probably does not concur with that of Miss Hlving; Inga Thorsson, a Social Democrat and Member of the Second Chamber; Elsa Cedergren, a Quaker; and Bertil Svahnstrom, a reporter with *Morgon Bladet*, a liberal paper. Such a group certainly represents an important cross-section.

I have a copy of the book written by Mr. Fogelstrom and Mr. Morell. It has caused quite a stir in Sweden. If any FOR member would like to read it and translate it for a book review in FELLOWSHIP, I'll be glad to lend it to him—or her.

WILLIAM O. TILNIUS
Malverne, N. Y.

Ferré and the Niebuhrian Stalemate

Dear Editors:

Your publication of Nels Ferré's address to the National Conference of the FOR in your November issue ["Pacifism and the Castle of Faith"] is valuable. Two of the most crucial points in his address concerned the cause of pacifism's seeming irrelevance, and his exposé of the betrayal of Christian love in neo-orthodox ethics.

Concerning our seeming irrelevance, Ferré said it is due to our lack of incarnating outgoing love. I cannot help but agree. But Niebuhr's answer haunts me: we are all caught in this lack—that is our human nature—and that is why pacifism is irrelevant. I have not found that Ferré adequately responds to this objection.

Secondly, Ferré's criticism that Niebuhr's concept of justice betrays the Christian understanding of that concept needs enlarging, as well as more substantiation.

I haven't read Ferré as widely as Niebuhr, but in what I have read I do not find that he (Ferré) addresses these two problems directly enough to resolve them. Surely we cannot remain in the Niebuhrian stalemate of having an ethic but not being able to use it! But first we will have to discover adequate resolution of the Niebuhrian stalemate which includes his realism while transcending his uncertain ethical basis for action. I cannot help wishing Ferré would tackle this task.

MARVE EVERS
Springfield, Mass.

The Main Emphasis

Dear Editors:

Where should a pacifist place his negatives? This question is raised by the sentence from the article by Nels Ferré (FELLOWSHIP, November 1, 1958) on which you editorialize approvingly: "... the main emphasis for all of us should be on the making of peace, not on our own personal morals or on personal purity."

We reject the military doctrine of the "lesser

evil," I hope we are not countering with doctrine of the lesser good.

The "lost generation" which writers of Hemingway persuasion avidly portray the negatives at "Victorian morality" in particular and then at "puritanism" in general. Scholarship support was given by the psychologists with their "don't restrain." The callous of it seeped into social agencies, into law, and into church.

It is of note that the most recent of commentaries, the twelve-volume *Interpretation of the Bible*, begins its exegesis on Matthew 5:1-12 ("blessed are the pure in heart") with a double-barreled negative, "The pure in heart need not be thought of as the morally perfect; and there is no special reference to sex purity." And no reference by the exegetes to Matt. 5:28.

Regarding Kierkegaard and his often quoted line, his confusion is that he leads from Matt. 5:8, rather than from Col. 3:22 or Matt. 6:16. But Kierkegaard confuses in many ways; this is why he is called the father of the neo-orthodox. They enforce their theology of holiness by hugging it to themselves in championing international fratricide.

Let's make it plain, Jesus put the "pure in heart" and the "peacemakers" in closest blend, no lesser or greater. No one really has peace unless the blend is kept.

Regarding our friends who are devoted to personal morality and purity and who yet denigrate the sum of all immorality and impurity in their hail to war, reconciliation can only say: All power to you for what you have, and let's go on and get the rest.

Long has been my admiring of Nels Ferré and the editors of FELLOWSHIP, they keep the blend. But our doctrine please, let's keep the total good total, the only "main emphasis."

LEE W. LYNN
Anacortes, W.

Congratulations

Dear Editors:

My hearty congratulations to you on the work that you are doing! The new FELLOWSHIP is outstanding in its coverage of some of the major problems of our time and the Periodic Information Edition is particularly helpful.

FRANCIS A. DRENNAN
Westboro, Ohio

Levity "In Context"

Dear Editors:

I have been intending for a long time to drop you a line telling you how much I enjoy the delightful humor of your editorial page "In Context." I sometimes think that the greatest sin of which we pacifists are guilty is the spirit of grim, deadly earnestness with which we so often tend to approach problems and it is indeed refreshing to find someone who can stand off and laugh at it all now and then. By all means, keep it up!

DUANE MAGILL
Los Angeles, Cal.

HAT MEN MAY LIVE...in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The principles of the FOR are embodied in its Statement of Purpose, which constitutes an affirmation of intent rather than a precise creed. In it, members of the FOR are agreed on the following:

- ☞ They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ☞ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- ☞ They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- ☞ They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- ☞ They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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ALTERNATIVES



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